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INSPIRATION FOR THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA AND OTHER HINDU KINGDOMS IN THE SOUTH

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The foundation of Vijayanagara is generally described as the culmination of the Hindu national resistance to the iconoclastic onslaught of Turkish imperialism from Delhi. It is alleged that the Sultans of Delhi followed a ruthless policy of persecution and temple-destruction which provoked the people of the South to organise themselves and rise in defence of their cherished religious and social institutions. It is further held that the main source of inspiration was provided by the radical type of Saivism represented especially by Vira-Saivism. The revolt resulted in the foundation of Vijayanagara in Karnataka, the Nayaka, Reddi and Velama kingdoms in Andhradesa.

But a careful and critical examination of the circumstances in which the above kingdoms sprang up and the history of the relations between them do not seem to warrant any such conclusion. Nor is it correct to say that Vira-Saivism provided a bond of unity to the people of the Deccan and inspired them to a movement of national liberation. On the other hand it appears that the Muslim expansion in the South was prompted more by political and economic rather than by religious considerations, whereas the Hindu kingdoms that emerged in the wake of Muslim conquest embodied more the political ambition rather than the deep concern of their leaders for the safety of their religion.

Religious Background

Saivism was no doubt predominant in Andhra and Karnataka for considerable time. But it is rather wishful thinking to hold that the people of any of the region in the Deccan were ever united in the church of Saivism and much less about the time of the Muslim invasions. By about the time under our consideration, the radical sects like the *Pasupatas* and the *Kapalikas* appear to have lost their influence. In fact, the latter were never popular with the people. They always preferred inaccessible forest and mountain retreats and were abhorred by the people because of their anti-social practices such as human sacrifice. Even the *Pasupata* system is rarely found during the later part of the Kakatiya period. Further, both the systems were extremely individualistic or monastic and were therefore incapable of rousing a mass movement. Vira-Saivism

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was developed to rectify that defect of the earlier systems. It instilled, no doubt, single-minded devotion towards one supreme god. The Virasaivites were noted for their heroic deeds and they rarely hesitated to lay down their lives in defending and upholding the supremacy of Siva. Vira-Saivism was quite revolutionary in matters of social relations as it tried to do away with caste barriers and made an attempt at the creation of a single solid society of *Bhaktas*. Such a socio-religious fervour would have been a fitting reply to the Turkish zeal for Islam. But the assumption that Vira-Saivism roused the people of the Deccan to expel the Muslim rulers and to win freedom leads to a pertinent question: Why did Vira-Saivism wait until the Muslims, after repeated attacks, conquered and overran the land? If it had played its role successfully the course of history would have been quite differnt. But it proved otherwise. Neither in Andhra nor in Karnataka, Vira-Saivism with its emphasis on social solidarity became popular. The tragic circumstances in which Basavesvara killed himself proved a set back to his movement. In Andhra, from early days Vira-Saivism showed a tendency towards dilution. The *Aradhya* system which was a compromise between devotionalism and Brahmanism caught the imagination of the people. The Kakatiyas patronised some sort of *Misra-Saivism* and took pride in upholding the caste system. The *Golaki Matha* which had its branches through out Andhra under the patronge of Ganapatideva was based upon *Suddha-Saivism*, allowing the worship of *Siva Pancayatana*.[3] It also reconciled with Vedism and observed the caste system.

It is to be noted further that Saivism did not monopolise the spiritual life of the Andhra or the Deccan. Its rival, Vaisnavism made considerable progress at least from the time of Ramanuja. (A.D. 1016-1137) who made the system more Vedantic and popularised it among the lower classes through the concept of *Prapatti*, which means complete self-surrender. We come across in Andhradesa of the Kakatiya period numerous inscriptions mentioning rich gifts to the temples of Visnu, made by all the eighteen communities. About the same time, Brahmanayudu of Palnad tried to develop some sort of Vira-Vaisnavism on the basis of castelessness, but his efforts were defeated on the famous battle-field of Karempudi. However, Vaisnavism made steady progress and it soon came into conflict with Saivism. The sectarian rivalry produced doubts in people as to the greatness and superiority of their respective deities and led scholars to work for harmony between different sects and even religions. The prevailing spirit of catholicity is best revealed by an inscription from Bekkallu.[4] The record states that a certain Mallireddy whose family religion was Jainism, was highly enlightened and unable to decide which god was the greatest, built temples for Siva, Visnu, Jina and Buddha. It is evident therefore that in matters of religion it was a period of conflict, doubt and confusion and out of such a condition emerged a synthetic system stimulated by the writings of poets like Tikkana and patronised by kings like Ganapatideva and the new

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, p. 418.
2. N. Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India (E.M.E.S.I.) Ch. VIII, passim.
3. V. S. Pathak, History of Saiva Cults in Northern India, p. 52.
4. Telangana Inscriptions, II p. 128.

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system thoroughly reconciled with caste-based social order. Curiously none of the founders of the new Hindu kingdoms in the Deccan was a pure Saivite and all of them supported the new system. They granted *agraharas* to Brahmins, encouraged them to perform Vedic sacrifices and worshipped both Siva and Visnu. Thus the revolutionary Vira-Saivism and Vira-Vaisnavism yielded place to an orthodox system which can be called the *Smarta* system where in Siva and Visnu were brought into harmony or held as the two different aspects of the same Supreme God. The difference between the two systems need not be over emphasised. Vira-Saivism popularised religion whereas the *Smarta* system Sanskritised it and based it on the Vedanta characterised by the concepts of destiny *(karma)* and illusion *(midhya)* and gave sanction to the worship of too many deities. In addition, Vaisnavism popularised in the bulk of the people the concept of complete self-surrender.

Such a religious atmosphere can be taken to have produced only a complascent view of happenings, an attitude to take things as they occur as the acts of an inexorable destiny and a spirit to reconcile themselves to the changed or changing situations. Literature is generally taken as a mirror of contemporary society and the literature, particularly in Telugu and in Sanskrit of the period that immediately followed Muslim invasions, is totally silent about the fall of the Kakatiyas or about the atrocities said to have been perpetrated by the Muslim invaders. The famous Telugu poet Srinatha, whose grandfather received salutations from the Kakatiya monarch had no tear to shed for their destruction at the hands of the Muslims. Madiki Singana who lived just one generation after the fall of Warangal to the Muslims was equally silent about the tragic events that took place. It appears therefore that the people of the Deccan took the fall of the Hindu kingdoms simply as matter of course, one of the ever so many dynastic revolutions that convulsed the land and with which they were too familiar. No other explanation is possible to such a gross indifference of the poets, the intellectual leaders of the community, to the fall of the glorious Kakatiya dynasty at the hands of *Mlechchas,* supposed to be the sworn enemies of their religion and culture.

The zeal of the radical religious sects - Vira-Saivism and Vira-Vaisnavism for revolutionary social reforms also failed and caste distinctions continued undisturbed. The Kakatiya inscriptions mention 18 castes and their number steadily multiplied. The Sudras who had already emerged as the most important fighting community came to be subdivided into four sects namely the Velamas, Reddis, Nayudus and Kammas These sects started competing with one another for gaining political power and each tried to dominate the court. As a natural consequence, there developed mutual jealousy and hatred among them. The Local Records would have us believe that the atmosphere at the Kakatiya court was vitiated by communal conflict especially between the Velamas and the Reddis and that it was one of the causes for the fall of the Kakatiyas.[5] These rivalries, as it appears, continued even afterwards and history of Andhra during the post-Kakatiya period was blackened by Velama-Nayaka, Velama-Ksatriya and Velama-Reddi conflicts.[6]

5. M. Rama Rao, Kakatiya Sanchika, p. 77-78.
6. M. Somasekhara Sarma, A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History and The Reddi Kingdoms, passim.

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Such was the socio-religious condition of the Deccan at the time of the Muslim invasions and it is rather doubtful how far it could have served as a source of inspiration for a united national movement of liberation.

Politics of the Southern States

The failure of religion as a bond of unity is more than proved by the oweful lack of a sense of urgency among the Hindu rulers of the South Indian states even when the Turkish iconoclast was thundering at their very door-step. Unity is the hallmark of national spirit and it was totally lacking among the Hindus even in that critical hour. It is rather a pity that the Hindus not only failed to unite against the common enemy but under his very nose indulged in mutual aggrandisement, each swearing to destroy the other. When Malik Kafur was busy in Devagiri planning his expedition against the other kingdoms in the South, Ballala was fighting with the rulers of Barakur and Nidugal.[7] Even the tragic fate of Devagiri in 1312 A.D. was no lesson of warning to them and instead of joining together against the Muslims they continued their fueds as usual. Taking advantage of confusion in the Pandyan kingdom, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas attacked it simultaneously.[8] The Local Records such as the *Kumararamana* and *Ballalarayana Yuddha* describe the fearful conflict between Kampilaraya and Ballala between A. D. 1320 and 1325.[9] Kampilaraya had to fight also with Prataparudra and Kotikanti Raghava, a local chieftain.[10] After the annexation of Devagiri by the Sultan, Mallideva a nephew of Ramadeva established a small principality with Rayadurg as his seat.[11] Instead of co-operating with him in his efforts for organising resistance to the Muslim aggressor, the neighbouring Hindu chiefs, Mummadi Singaya Nayaka of Kampili and Jagatapu Gangayadeva of Gutti rose against him and killed him in battle. Dr. Venkataramanayya remarks that "whatever chances of united Hindu opposition there were to Muslim aggression perished with him".[12]

Another discomforting feature of the South Indian politics of the period was that the Hindu rulers seem to have preferred to be loyal subordinates of the Delhi Sultan than to be friendly with neighbours. It appears as though the Hindu princes felt that the Muslim came as a blessing in disguise to fulfil their pledges of mutual destruction. Ramadeva was so loyal to Ala-ud-din that he gave great help to Malik Kafur in his Malbar expedition. He placed at Malik's disposal the entire resources of his empire and gave special instructions to one of his officers, Parasuram Dalavai

7. E.M.E.I.S.I., p. 11.
8. Early History of the Deccan, p. 648
9. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History (F.S.V.H.) I, p. 16.
10. Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History (F.C.A.H.) p. 50.
11. E.M.E.S.I., p. 74.
12. Ibid., pp. 73, Bharati, XV, pp. 157-60.

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whose estates lay on the frontiers of the Hoyasala empire to guide the imperial army in its march of Dorasamudra.[13] In the same way, after he concluded the treaty of submission with the Malik, Ballala III rendered useful service to the imperial army in its expedition against Madura and won the former's gratitude.[14]

Even in the course of the revolt of A. D. 1329, some of the local Hindu chieftains remained loyal to the Sultan. It is said that Araviti Somadevaraja who raised the standard of revolt in Rayalasima soon after A. D. 1328 had to fight with the Manne chief Gosangi in the fort of Manigilla and had to destroy a confederacy of Hindu chiefs at Ganginenikonda.[15] The Confederacy consisted of Nadabalanayaka, Gujjala Virundu, Rudrappanayaka, Gaurareddi and Ganginayaka who appear to be loyal to the Sultan and opposed Somadeva.

Policy of the Sultans

Such loyalty on the part of the Hindu princes of the South might partly be due to the considerate policy adopted by the Sultans of Delhi. It was under Ala-ud-din Khilji and Muhammad-bin-Tughluk that the Muslim authority extended into the South. Neither of them was strictly orthodox in matters of Islam. Both of them tried to free the government from the unhealthy intervention of the Ulema and appointed Hindus to high positions of responsibility.[16] Taxation under Ala-ud-din was no doubt oppressive but there was nothing particularly religious about it. He assured the Kazi that "the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they were reduced to poverty."[17] Further it should not be over-looked that the Sultans realised that too heavy taxation on the Hindus was not in the best interests of their own state. Gias-ud-din Tughluk was clear about it when he said that "the Hindus were to be taxed so that they might not be blinded with wealth and so become discontented and rebellious; nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry .. .."[18] Ala-ud-din's policy of taxation was in no way anti-Hindu as his ordinances would reveal that he was equally harsh to the Muslim nobles. When he was actually asked by the Muslim priest to be very harsh to the Hindus, Ala-ud-din clearly declared "I do not know what is lawful and unlawful (according to religion). Whatever I consider to be good for the state, I shall decree."[19] Muhammad-bin-Tughluk actually extended patronage to Hindu institutions and even respected their religious sentiments. He held religious

13. Khusrau, Khvaza' in-ul-Futuh, J.K.H., IX, pp. 53-54.
14. Isamy, Futuh-us-Salatin, p. 290.
15. E.M.E.S.I., pp. 177-179.
16. A Comprehensive History of India, V (The Delhi Sultanate) pp. 462 and 565.
17. Elliot and Dowson, History of India (E.D.) III, p. 185.
18. Ibid., p. 236.
19. Ibid., p. 188.

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discussions with Hindus and Jains, visited the temples of Girnar and ordered the construction of a *Gow Matha*.[20] In the course of his campaign against Baha-ud-din Gurshap, the soldiers removed *Sivalinga* from the Madhukesvar temple at Kalyan. When the Hindus made a representation, Tughluk's general, Ahmad Ayaz issued an order saying "since worship in the temple is the religious duty of the petetioners, they should follow it," and the *linga* was reinstated.[21] Neither under the Khiljis nor under the early Tughluks the condition of the Hindus was so deplorable as it is generally made out. In his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Barni laments that even in the capital city of the Sultans, "the infidels are honoured, distinguished, favoured and made eminent .....they live in delights and comforts .....they take Mussalmans into their service ..... are called *rais, ranas, thakurs, mehtas* and *Pundits*"[22]

Thus neither of the Sultans who attempted the conquest of the South was a religious fanatic and the policies of both were less religious and more political. Ala-ud-din was prepared to treat the non-Muslims as protected citizens by collecting the *jijya* from them and was clear about it when he instructed Malik Kafur how he should treat Ballala of Dorasmudra-he said, "The order of the Caliph concerning Ballala Dev and all other Rai is this: First I am to place before them the two negatives of the Oath of affirmation — May be, their hearts will be illuminated. But if destiny has drawn a curtain before their eyes, and they fail to see the light, I am to offer them the alternative of having the yoke of tribute (*zimma*) put on their necks. If they reject this and refuse to pay tribute, relieve their necks of the burden of their heads".[23] It is clear from this that Ala-ud-din was satisfied if the Hindus paid him tribute as mark of their submission. His treatment of the Hindu kings of the South bears out this point. After the treaty of A. D. 1294, Ala-ud-din was "greatly pleased with Ramadeva: he summoned him to his camp and treated him with much consideration. He gave back to Ramadeva his royal umbrella, together with his kingdom and presented him with two powerful elephants. They vowed to each other that one should be the father and the other the son. "[24] After the second attack on Devagiri, when Ramadeva was sent to Delhi, Ala-ud-din treated him with great kindness. He conferred on him the title *Ray-i-Rayan* and gave him one or two lakhs of tankas to bear his expenses home.[25]

When Malik Kafur marched against Warangal, Ala-ud-din gave him similar instruction: "If the *Rai* (of Tiling) consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Kafur was to accept these terms and

20. Kalipada Mitra, "Historical References in Jain Poems", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (1941) pp. 295-302.
21. Ep., Ind., XXXII, part IV, p. 165.
22. Barni, Fatawa-i-Jahandari. Advice XI, pp. 46-48.
23. Khusrau, Op. cit. pp. 60-61.
24. Isamy, Op. cit. pp. 228-31.
25. Brigg's Ferista, I, p. 369.

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not press the Rai too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire without pushing matters too far lest *Rai* Ludder Deo should get the better of him. If he could not do this he was for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the *Rai* with him to Delhi.[26] Throughout, Pratapa Rudra appears to have maintained cordial relations with Ala-ud-din. According to the *Velugotivari Vamsavali*, two of the officers of Pratapa Rudra's court, Telugu Bijjala and Potuganti Maili displayed their skill in swordsmanship in a specially arranged durbar of Ala-ud-din.[27]

In these expeditions, the Muslims were considerate not only to the kings but also to the people in general. There was no evidence to show that they attempted mass conversions. The peasants were not dispossesed of their lands. On the other hand, after the annexation of the kingdom of Devagiri in A.D. 1312, Malik Kafur treated the people with kindness and moderation. He assured them of safety and they felt that they had nothing to fear from their new masters. He granted the peasants leases and they "being convinced that they had a ruler who was interested in promoting their welfare, devoted themselves to their lands and extracted greater yield from the soil than before."[28]

It is therefore clear that Ala-ud-din's conquest of the south was prompted by purely political and economic considerations. He was wise enough to realise the limitations of his imperial authority and did not attempt the annexation of the South Indian kingdoms, but allowed their Hindu rulers to enjoy autonomy. Such a considerate treatment given to the Hindu chief-tains induces the assumption that Ala-ud-din initiated the statesman-like policy of taking the submissive Hindu rulers into confidence with the aim of breaking down the monopoly of power enjoyed by the overbearing Turkish Jagirdars, who were a constant source of trouble and annoyance to the Delhi Sultan.

However, the South Indian expeditions of Kafur and Juna Khan were not free from acts of violence. Temples were plundered and defiled. Towns were subjected to pillage and were destroyed. But normally, when the king of the state offered his submission, the invading army refrained from acts of cruelty and vandalism. Kafur was particularly cruel in the Pandyan kingdom. He plundered the temples of Srirangam Rameswaram and defiled the temples of Marhatpura. The reasons for such a cruelty are not far to seek. The prolonged guerilla tactics adopted by the Pandyans exasperated the general.[29] He received the reports that the temples of Marhatpura were replete with enormous wealth and the diety therein the most favourite of the Pandyan, who even in his wanderings was visiting the temple, probably using it as a hideout.

26. E.D. III, p. 201.
27. Chatupadyamani Manjari, II, p. 65.
28. E.M.E.S.I., p. 73.
29. Ibid.,

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Further it is to be remembered that in plundering, no distinction was made between the Hindus and Muslims. For example, the governor of Pattan, a rich port on the east coast, Siraj-ud-din Taci was plundered by Khsrau and was ordered to give his daughther in marriage to the latter. Unable to bear the indignity, Siraj committed suicide.[30]

The general belief is that Warangal was destroyed by Juna Khan. But there is no evidence in support of this. Even after the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty, Warangal remained a coveted place and the Musunuri Nayaks ruled from the city. Later, Chitap Khan also made Warangal his capital. It appears that Warangal was damaged more in the Nayaka-Velama conflicts than during the early Muslim invasions and the final ruin was brought about by the later Muslims fanatics. Even if it is admitted that Juna was responsible for it, he destroyed Warangal not merely because it was a Hindu city, but only because it was the city of an enemy who proved very troublesome. We learn from history that it was the policy of conquerors to wipe out all vestiges of the early rulers, probably with the view of getting the people reconciled to their own rule. This might be the reason for the Mughals and Afghans destroying each others's cities.[31]

Such acts of cruelty and destruction in the course of military expeditions were not the peculiar mononoly of Muslims. They were not unknown to the ethics of Hindu warfare. Leaving aside the Vedic and Epic periods, during which the Aryan God Indra was fond of the title *Purandara*, even the known historic past of India abounds in such barbarities. Kautilya, the doyen of early Hindu political thought not only recommends *Kutayuddha* against the enemy but actually advises that "when a people resist the attempt of the conqueror, then he may destroy their stores, crops and granaries and trade."[32] The ghastly spectacle of Kalinga war described in the XIII Rock Edict would convince any one that Asoka more than translated the advice into actual practice. The instructions of Ala-ud-din to Malik Kafur sound almost the same as the Kautiliyan advice. Kharavela of Kalinga proudly declared that he got the ancient city of Prithuda (a market town in the Maisolia region) ploughed down by donkeys.[33] In the mutual wars of the kings of the Sangam Age in the South, "the conquered country was at times ruthlessly laid waste, even corn-fields not being spared".[34] The Calukya-Pallava and the Cola-Calukya conflicts were blackened by unspeakable acts of cruelty. Gunaga Vijayaditya of the Eastern Calukyan dynasty took the proud title of *Tripuramatrtya Mahesvara*,[35] by burning down Acalapura Kiranapura and Cakrakuta-pura. Bayala Nambi, the Brahmin General of Calukya Satyasraya claims to have burnt the forts of

30. Isamy, Op. cit., pp. 359-60.
31. Percy Brown, Indian Architecttre, II.
32. R, Shyamasastry, Kautilya's Arthasastra. Book X, Ch. III.
33. Hathigumpha Inscription, Select Inscriptions, I p. 209,
34. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Op. cit, p. 129.
35. Attili grant of Calukya Bhima I, Journal of Telugu Acadamy, XI, p. 241 ft.

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Yanamadala and Dannala (Dharanikota).[36] In the course of his attack on Karnataka, Rajendra Coda plundered the country including temples, slaughtered women, children and Brahmins and captured women of the land and destroyed their caste.[37] Kapilesvara Gajapati led a victorious campaign against the South and plundered without making any distinction between the property of gods and men, and his plunderous expedition disturbed worship in more than one temple.[38] These few examples would clearly reveal that long before the advent of the Muslims the people of the Deccan were quite familiar with the wanton destruction and devastation indulged in by invading armies. Wars, whether they were between two Hindu rulers or between the Hindus and Muslims, dehumanised the belligerents and the degree of such dehumanisation can naturally be expected to be higher when two rival religions face one another on the battle field.

The Revolt

The people of Deccan would have therefore slowly reconciled to the Muslim rule. Further they were given asssurance by the Muslim generals like Ahmad Ayaz that their religious sentiments would be respected. Every thing would have settled down peacefully provided the political ambition of the local Hindu chiefs did not disturb the situation by raising the standard of revolt. But the revolt of the Hindus was not an isolated phenomenon in the reign of Muhammad Tughluk. Nor can it be said that it was against his policy of religious intolerance. No doubt, there was a revolt against the religious policy of Muhammad Tughluk, but that was not for being a fanatic but only for being liberal and for having introduced certain innovations in the orthodox religious practices. It is said that Muhammad Tughluk stopped the Friday Congregation and played the Holi festival with the Hindus for which the Kazis actually rose against him and the orthodox writers like Isamy justified the rising. The Hindus as it appears, had nothing to complain against his religious policy and in the words of Nuniz they looked upon "Togo Mande as a saint."[39] The Hindu Revolt should have therefore been prompted by the ambition of its individual leaders and encouraged by the policy of "plundering and blundering" followed by the Sultan.

One of the worst blunders of Muhammad-bin-Tughluk was the annexation of the South Indian kingdoms to the Delhi empire and the replacement of the Hindu rulers by Muslims. He appointed Muslim governors at Warangal and Anegondi. The Sultan failed to realise that to gain territory in the South was to risk an empire in the North. His attempt to counteract the adverse influence of geography by shifting the capital to Daulatabad proved another fatal blunder. The

36. S.I.I, VI, No. 102.
37. Hottur Inscriptions. Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 73.
38. A.R.S.I.E., 1907, Part II, para 56.
39. Robert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire of Vijayanagara (F. E.) p. 1.

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inability of Muhammad to have effective control over the rulers of the distant provinces gave wings to the aspirations of the South Indian chieftains for freedom and domininon. The general discontent prevailing in the empire strengthened their confidence about success. Soon after the Sultan returned from Kampili in A.D. 1328, the standard of revolt was raised by Ballala in Karnataka and Somadevaraja and Prolayanayaka in Andhra. Somadevaraja drove away the Muslim governor of Anegondi. Prolayanayaka appears to be a general in the service of Pratapa Rudra and was allied with the Telugu Codas. It is possible that he was temporarily assisted by the surviving Kakatiya generals like Bendapudi Anna and Recerla Singama. Prolaya Vemareddi who rose in the coastal Andhra also might have extended co-operation in the efforts of Prolayanayaka. Having received the intelligence of these revolts, Muhammad-bin-Tughluk sent to the South two of the brothers, Harihara and Bukka whom he had captured at Kampili in 1328 A.D. to restore order and rule at Kampili as his agents.

On the strength of a single statement in the chronicles of the Muslim writers, some scholars think that the brothers Harihara and Bukka obtained release from the prison by embracing Islam[40] and were later reconverted to Hinduism by sage Vidyaranya. But this account of the conversion of the founders of Vijayanagara seems to be incredible. In the first place, it is not reasonable to assume that Muhammad-bin-Tughluk who was noted for his liberal views and tolerant disposition followed such a narrow course. Secondly, by sending converts the Sultan gained no advantage as it implied the replacement of one Muslim ruler by another. The new rulers might be loyal to him but they could not be expected to win the confidence of the people which was necessary for restoring peace and order in the land. On the other hand, it can more reasonably be assumed that Muhammad-bin-Tughluk realised, of course too late as it was always the case with him, that the policy of annexation of the southern kingdoms was a blunder and finding the Muslim governors either disloyal or incapable, reverted to Ala-ud-din's policy of retaining the subordinate Hindu rulers over the Southern provinces. Accrdingly, he took from the brothers pledges of fealty and sent them as the rulers of Kampili. The native Hindu records do not contain even the slightest reference to the episode of conversion. The Portuguese merchant Nuniz whose narration of the events leading to the foundation of Vijayanagara admirably agrees with the local accounts, does not refer to the conversion and reconversion of the brothers. On the other hand, his account only supports the changed policy of the Sultan. He says that the Sultan's Councillors expressed the opinion that the most prudent step which the Sultan should take in the circumstances was to appoint as the ruler of the province (Kampili) some one connected with the late Raja of Kampili. On their advice the Sultan appointed Devarao, who had been the minister of the late Raja as the new king. And having taken from them oaths and pledges of fealty as vassals, he sent them to their land with a large following.[41] It is therefore reasonable to take the word 'apostate' used by the Muslim

40. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, I.
41. F. E., p. 297.

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chroniclers to mean that the brothers broke the pledges and turned disloyal to the Sultan. The tradition of Harihara-Vidyaranya collaboration in the foundation of Vijayanagara is also not supported by facts. According to some historians it was a myth concocted by the Acaryas of Sringeri *matha* and popularised by the later weak rulers of the Sangama dynasty, to mutual advantage.[42] If Vidyaranya really played any role in the foundation of Vijayanagara to serve as a bastion Hindu Dharma, Gangadevi who composed, within less than fifty years of that great event her *Madhuravijayam*, the theme of which was the triumph of Vijayanagara over the Muslim rulers of Madurai, would not have omitted Vidyaranya from the list of great personalities to whom she offered salutations in the introduction of the *Kavya*. These two traditions—about the conversion of Harihara and about the Harihara-Vidyaranya collaboration—appear to be mere concoctions helped to reinforce the religious colour given to the foundation of Vijayanagara. It may be added that even if the tradition about conversion is taken to contain any truth, it only proves that the brothers used religion only as a means of attaining their political ends.

The years of A.D. 1335-36 were crucial in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughluk. There was discontent throughout the empire due to the oppressive policy of taxation. Barni wrote that "those who were rich and had property became rebels".[43] Taking advantage of the situation, the governor of Ma'bar, Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din rose in revolt in A.D. 1335 and proclaimed independence[44] and it provided the green signal for the Hindu risings. The Sultan failed to supress the revolt in Ma'bar. The weakness of the Sultan, thus revealed, encouraged the other governors and chieftains. In A.D. 1336, Ballala threw off the yoke of subordination to the Sultan. Kapayanayaka, the nephew of Prolayanayaka captured Warangal from its Muslim governor.[45] About the same time, Harihara who had already consolidated his position at Anegondi or Kampili proclaimed independence.

The Muslim chroniclers hint at an alliance between Ballala and Kapaya[46] and on its basis recent historians assumed the emergence of a grand alliance of the South against the Sultan led by Ballala, Kapaya and Harihara. But this view cannot be sustained. As Harihara and Ballala were fighting for the mastery over the region of Anegondi,[47] there is no possibility of the former's

42. Heras, The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, pp. 34-35. Some of the recent writers are endorsing the theory of Heras. P. B. Desai, History of Karnataka, pp. 326-344. Shatdarsanam Somasundara Sarma, Bharati, July, 1975, pp. 53-59. J. Hanumachchastri, Bharati, Nov. 1976 pp. 40-41.
43. E.D, III, p. 238.
44. F.S.V.H., I, passim.
45. F.C.A.H.
46. Ibid., pp. 62-63, Note 39.
47. N. Venkataramanayya, Kampili and Vijayanagara, pp. 28-29.

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inclusion in the alliance. It is also doubtful whether Kapayanayaka received any help from the erstwhile Kakatiya feudatories like the Reddis and Velamas. The Reddis at Addanki and the Velamas at Rajukonda established independent kingdoms much earlier than the capture of Warangal by Kapaya and the subsequent relations between the Velamas and Kapaya do not warrant the assumption of co-operation between them against the Muslims. It is therefore clear that the Hindu kingdoms were the results not of a co-ordinated plan and a concerted action against the Sultan under the guidance of a Grand Alliance, inspired by Hindu national spirit but only of the individual political ambitions of their respective founders. Nuniz has rightly observed that during the troublesome period of Muhammad-bin-Tughluk's reign "every one was the lord of what he pleased".[48]

Nature of the Revolt

Thus the kingdoms of Vijayanagara, Warangal, Addanki and Rajukonda emerged indeed out of a rebellion against the Sultan of Delhi. But rebellion is not a strange phenomenon in Indian history. From the beginning of India's long history, empires including those of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Rastrakutas, the Calukyas and the Colas rose and fell as a result of rebellions by disloyal and self-seeking subordinates. Rebellion appears to be endemic to the Indian political system. Even the Vijayanagara empire was shaken several times by rebellions and one of the causes of its ultimate fall was the treachery of its vassals in the far south. In fact, by about the time of Muslim attacks, all the four kingdoms in the South lost their vigour and vitality because of internal revolts and mutual aggressive wars and were on the verge of dismemberment and the Muslim invasions were only incidental for their final collapse. Therefore simply because Harihara and Kapaya were Hindu chieftains and their overlord, the Delhi Sultan was a Muslim, it is not reasonable to give the revolt of the former a religious colour.

The leaders of the revolts in the south, no doubt took the titles which mean 'Restorer of *Dharma*'. But such titles constitute an important part of the traditional pedigree of the kings in ancient India. The Pallavas were fond of the titles '*Dharma maharjadhi raja*' and '*Kaliyuga dosavasanna dharmoddharana nityasannaddha*' and the like.[49] It apears that the 'protection of traditional *dharma*' formed part of the coronation oath of the Hindu kings. It is also true that the *agraharas* granted to Brahmins and temples were at times disturbed by the Muslim invaders. But such events were not quite unknown to Hindu India. In the course of expeditions of one Hindu prince against another, *agraharas* were frequently disturbed and one classic example to such a disturbance is provided by the Polamuru grants[50]——the earlier one issued by the Visnukundin Madhavavarma and the latter by the Eastern Calukyan king

48. F. E., p. 299.
49. Vesanta Plates of Simhavarma, C.P.I.A.G.M., Ch. XVIII.
50. Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 254 ft. & Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 257 ft.

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Jayasimhavallabha. Hence such events cannot be magnified as a proof of the Muslim atrocities on Hinduism, nor is it reasonable to interpret the traditional titles as to signify the deep concern of the founders of the new Hindu kingdoms for their religion and its institutions.

The comments of Prof. B.P. Saksena[51] on the Jat rising during the reign of Aurangazeb, that it was primarily a political phenomenon having little concern for religious susceptibilities and if there were any such considerations, they were only a cloak and a pretext, would equally apply to the Hindu rising in the South during Muhammad-bin-Tughluk's times. If at all the Hindu rebels had any special intentions in proclaming such of their titles as mentioned above, it was probably to wean away the local people from the Muslim rule to which they were slowly reconciling and to rally them around their own rebellious banner. The statement of Barni that the rich and the propertied became rebels implies that the common people remained unconcerned about the rebellions of the Hindu chieftains. It is already noted that the socio-religious philosophy, prevailing in the Deccan on the eve of Muslim invasions only taught the people the principle of self-surrender, trained them to resign themselves and to reconcile to their lot, good or bad and to be indifferent to the worldly happenings It was probably to win the support of such an indifferent people that appeals were made to their religious sentiments.

An account of the relations between the new kingdoms only shows that their founders and their successors were least concerned with the safety and security of their religion and the welfare of their subjects, but mostly cared for their own territorial gains and for further expansion at the expense of their co-religionists. Strangely enough, in their wars of mutual aggrandisement, the Hindu rulers scarcely hesitated to ally themselves with the Muslims. Kapayanayaka of Warangal helped Hasan Gangu with a contingent of 1,500 infantry in the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom at Gulburga.[52] That he aided the establishment of Muslim authority at his very door-step is a sad commentary on Kapaya's statesmanship and concern for Hinduism. The pity is that he could not foresee that Gulburga would be no less aggressive then Delhi and that the nearness of the former would only increase the frequency and intensify of the Muslim attacks on the South Indian Hindu states. From the very beginning, the Velamas of Rajukonda were in alliance with the Bahmanis and it was with their help that the former fought many fearful battles with the Reddis of Kondavidu. Again there developed a fearful conflict between Kapaya and the Velamas and the latter probably in alliance with the Bahmanis ultimately destroyed the Hindu kingdom of Warangal. Every such alliance was only an invitation to the aggression of the Muslims who slowly expanded and ultimately engulfed all the Hindu kingdoms in the south.

51. The History and culture of the Indian People, VIII (The Maratha Supremacy) pp. 2-3.

52. Brigg's Ferishta, II, p. 289.

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It may therefore reasonobly be concluded that neither the events that led to the foundation of the above kingdoms nor the events that followed it clearly show that their founders were mainly moved by anxiety about the safety of their religion and its institutions. Nor do we find in them any national patriotic fervour of saving the land from an alien and of throwing him out. Like many of their predecessors in the country, the above kingdoms were only the embodiments of the personal political ambition of their respective founders. The accident of the difference in religion between the Hindu chiefs and their overlord, the Sultan of Delhi, might have incidentally helped the former in rousing sympathetic support of the indifferent people in realising their ambition.

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